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PAGE 01 STATE 126546

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 126546

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION TO ALL NATO CAPITALS CANBERRA HELSINKI
MOSCOW NATO TOKYO VIENNA WELLINGTON WHITE HOUSE JUNE 28,
FROM SECSTATE REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE:

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 126546

WHITE HOUSE PASS SAN CLEMENTE FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, US

SUBJ: BREZHNEV VISIT: SECRETARY BRIEFS NATO AMBASSADORS

A SUMMARY OF THE SECRETARY'S JUNE 26 BRIEFING OF NATO
AMBASSADORS ON THE BREZHNEV VISIT FOLLOWS.

1. THE SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT THE BREZHNEV VISIT PRO-
CEEDED IN A VERY GOOD ATMOSPHERE, BOTH IN REGARD TO THE
PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS AND THE SOVIET CONTACTS WITH THE PUBLIC
BREZHNEV MAY HAVE SURPRISED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO SOME
EXTENT BY HIS RELAXED, MATTER-OF-FACT APPROACH AND AVOID-
ANCE OF PROTOCOL RESTRAINTS. IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS AS
WELL, BREZHNEV ADOPTED A FRIENDLY, RESTRAINED ATTITUDE;
THERE WERE NO TENSE MOMENTS OR TROUBLESOME RHETORIC. THE
MEETING THEREFORE CAN BE CONSIDERED SUCCESSFUL: IT DID
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 126546

NOT BRING -- AND WAS NOT EXPECTED TO BRING -- DRAMATIC

DECISIONS, BUT IT PRODUCED IMPORTANT DECISIONS AND BUILT ON THE FOUNDATIONS LAID BY THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO MOSCOW LAST MAY.

2. EUROPEAN ISSUES: THE SECRETARY THEN TURNED TO EUROPEAN ISSUES OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO NATO. REGARDING MBFR THE SOVIETS, DESPITE INITIAL RELUCTANCE, FINALLY AGREED TO BEGIN THE TALKS ON OCTOBER 30. IN RESPECT TO CSCE THE SOVIETS PRESSED FOR A SPECIFIC DATE (THE END OF 1973) FOR COMPLETION OF THE SECOND PHASE. WE HELD TO THE POSITION THAT THIS IS NOT A BILATERAL MATTER, BUT MUST BE DECIDED IN THE CSCE PROCESS ITSELF. WE THEREFORE SETTLED ON THE GENERAL STATEMENT THAT WE WOULD MAKE EFFORTS TO BRING THE CONFERENCE TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME. THE SOVIETS ALSO PRESSED FOR A COMMITMENT TO HOLD THE THIRD PHASE OF THE CSCE AT THE SUMMIT LEVEL. WE DO NOT EXCLUDE THIS POSSIBILITY, BUT BELIEVE THAT THE DECISION MUST BE MADE BY STATES AT THE CONFERENCE IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS. FOR THAT REASON WE SETTLED ON THE COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE THAT "BOTH SIDES PROCEED FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT PROGRESS IN THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE WILL PRODUCE POSSIBILITIES FOR COMPLETING IT AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL."

3. THE SECRETARY OBSERVED THAT NOTHING OCCURRED DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT WHICH COULD BE CONSIDERED DETRIMENTAL TO THE ALLIANCE. THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT ON MBFR EXCEPT THE STARTING DATE, WHICH REFLECTS AN ALLIANCE POSITION. THERE WERE NO AGREEMENTS ON SALT EXCEPT FOR THOSE EMBODIED IN THE SIGNED AGREEMENT, ON WHICH NATO WAS BRIEFED IN ADVANCE. (THE SOVIETS, INCIDENTALLY, WERE RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT 1974 AS A TARGET DATE FOR CONCLUDING A TREATY ON OFFENSIVE WEAPONS, ARGUING FOR 1974-75, BUT FINALLY ACCEPTED 1974 ON US URGING.)

4. MIDDLE EAST: THE SECRETARY REPORTED THAT THE SOVIETS ORIGINALLY HELD TO A POSITION SIMILAR TO THE EGYPTIAN, I.E., THAT THERE BE A COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, THEN DISCUSSION OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. THERE WAS A GOOD DEAL OF DISCUSSION ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 126546

BUT WE SETTLED ON COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE CONSISTENT WITH WHAT WE HAVE SAID IN THE PAST. WE ARE PLEASED WITH THE FORMULATION THAT A SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE "IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE INTERESTS OF ALL STATES IN THE AREA, BE CONSISTENT WITH THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY AND SHOULD TAKE INTO DUE ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE."

5. IN THE QUESTION PERIOD WHICH FOLLOWED, THE FOLLOWING TOPICS AROSE:

6. TRADE: THE SECRETARY WAS ASKED FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS REGARDING US-SOVIET TRADE. HE REPLIED THAT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF TRADE ISSUES. THE SOVIETS ARE ANXIOUS FOR TRADE AND WISH TO CONCENTRATE ATTENTION ON LARGE-SCALE, LONG-TERM DEALS. WE TOO ARE INTERESTED IN INCREASING TRADE AND WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND

MFN TREATMENT TO THE SOVIET UNION. HOWEVER, WE MUST CONSIDER LARGE PROJECTS INDIVIDUALLY, IN DETAIL, AND EACH ON ITS MERITS. THE USG IS PREPARED TO TRY TO CREATE A FAVORABLE CLIMATE, AND THERE IS MUCH INTEREST ON THE PART OF US BUSINESS, BUT WE MUST WAIT FOR OUR BUSINESSMEN TO WORK OUT THE DETAILS OF SPECIFIC PROJECTS BEFORE DECISIONS ON CREDIT, ETC., CAN BE MADE.

7. BREZHNEV'S POSITION AT HOME: THE SECRETARY WAS ASKED WHETHER ANYTHING HAPPENED TO INDICATE THAT BREZHNEV WAS IN A DIFFICULT POSITION AT HOME. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT BREZHNEV HAD REFERRED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS TO VOICES THAT DO NOT FAVOR DETENTE, BUT THE REFERENCE WAS NOT NECESSARILY TO FORCES IN THE SOVIET UNION. BREZHNEV SEEMED TO IMPLY THAT, IF HE HAD HAD OPPOSITION IN THE USSR, IT HAD BEEN OVERCOME. HE EMPHASIZED REPEATEDLY THAT HE WAS SPEAKING FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND FOR THE SOVIET PEOPLE.

8. MBFR: THE QUESTION WAS RAISED WHETHER THE SOVIETS HAD EXPLAINED WHY THEY OBJECT TO THE WORD "BALANCED" IN THE PHRASE "MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS." THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 126546

SECRETARY SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE AVOIDED ACCEPTING THE WORD FOR SOME TIME BECAUSE THEY CLAIM THEY DO NOT UNDERSTAND PRECISELY WHAT IT MEANS. THE IMPORTANT ISSUE IS NOT THE WORD ITSELF, BUT THE CONCEPT, WHICH IS THAT REDUCTIONS SHOULD NOT BE TO THE ADVANTAGE OF EITHER SIDE. THE TITLE FOR THE TALKS USED IN THE COMMUNIQUE IS THE ONE WORKED OUT IN VIENNA: "NEGOTIATIONS ON THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE."

9. CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIES: THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR REFERRED TO DR. KISSINGER'S BRIEFING, WHEN HE MENTIONED THAT THERE HAD BEEN CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ALLIES REGARDING THE AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. HE ASKED WITH WHICH ALLIES, WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUM-

STANCES THESE CONSULTATIONS HAD BEEN CONDUCTED. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT HE WAS NOT CERTAIN PRECISELY WHAT C CONSULTATIONS DR. KISSINGER HAD IN MIND. LUXEMBOURG AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT KISSINGER HAD USED THE WORD "EXTENDED" DISCUSSION.

10. JEWISH EMIGRATION: THE SECRETARY WAS ASKED WHETHER THE MATTER OF JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR CAME UP DURING THE VISIT. THE SECRETARY ANSWERED THAT THE MATTER

WAS DISCUSSED, AND THAT IN HIS MEETING WITH SENATORS BREZHNEV HAD PROVIDED CERTAIN FIGURES WHICH WE ARE NOW CHECKING OUT. SOME OF HIS FIGURES SEEM TO COINCIDE WITH OURS AND SOME DO NOT.

11. SALT: ONE OF THE AMBASSADORS ASKED WHETHER FURTHER CONSULTATION IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL ON THE FUTURE COURSE OF THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONTEMPLATED. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT THERE WOULD, OF COURSE, BE FURTHER BRIEFINGS, BUT NO SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE YET. DR. KISSINGER MAY PROVIDE FURTHER BRIEFINGS, AND HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH DR. LUNS. THE NAC PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE GOING OUT TO SAN CLEMENTE AND MORE BRIEFINGS ON SALT COULD OCCUR THEN.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 126546

12. CSCE: THE SECRETARY WAS ASKED WHETHER BREZHNEV SHOWED SATISFACTION WITH THE RESULTS OF THE MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY TALKS. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT BREZHNEV HAD EXPRESSED GRATIFICATION WITH THE CURRENT STATE OF CSCE NEGOTIATIONS. IN RESPONSE TO OTHER QUESTIONS, THE SECRETARY STATED THAT THE SOVIETS DID NOT STRESS THEIR PROPOSAL FOR PERMANENT MACHINERY, BUT CONCENTRATED ON TRYING TO GET AGREEMENT FOR A SUMMIT MEETING IN PHASE THREE. OTHER CSCE ISSUES (E.G. HUMAN CONTACTS) WERE NOT DEBATED. IN RESPECT TO THE LENGTH OF THE OPENING (FOREIGN MINISTERS') MEETING, THE SECRETARY SAID THAT IT WAS AGREED THAT THE MEETING SHOULD BE HELD, IF POSSIBLE, TO TEN DAYS OR LESS.

13. PRESIDENT'S RETURN VISIT: THE SECRETARY WAS ASKED ABOUT THE TIMING OF THE PRESIDENT'S RETURN VISIT TO THE USSR, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF BREZHNEV'S MENTION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A MEETING IN SIX OR EIGHT MONTHS. HE REPLIED THAT THE PRESIDENT IS THINKING IN TERMS OF MEETINGS ON AN ANNUAL BASIS, ALTHOUGH OF COURSE NO DATE WAS SET FOR 1974. BREZHNEV MAY HAVE HAD IN MIND HIS DESIRE TO SEE THE PRESIDENT AT A SUMMIT MEETING OF THE CSCE IN SIX

OR EIGHT MONTHS WHEN HE REFERRED TO THAT TIMING.

14. OTHER MATTERS: THE SECRETARY WAS ASKED AT VARIOUS TIMES WHETHER THE FOLLOWING MATTERS AROSE DURING THE DISCUSSION: CHINA (PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO THE AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR), LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA, GATT, MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS, AND SOVIET POLICY TOWARD THE COMMON MARKET. HE REPLIED THAT, TO THE BEST OF HIS KNOWLEDGE, NONE OF THESE SUBJECTS WAS DISCUSSED. ROGERS UNQUOTE RUSH

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